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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B. A. B. Bull. 148)

or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, top; 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Uruçu provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pla. 92, left; 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, a, b).

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
husband—and her lovers, if she has lovers—try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

881 Mature women, when
[891] menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
[822] boy is shown the aje (bull-roarers) and the other secret
[790] ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
[342] tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
[571] lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
[302] ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
[826] is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
[616] moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
[833] sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
[764] ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
[764] ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/126/

846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

[753] Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

[17]

As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

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[825]

/127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcheræ, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Planta del villaggio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

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BO /193 cont. /

291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:

171 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
283 a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
* 171 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
291 praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B
302 As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
the pubic hair.

B
301 The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
291 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T
291 The Trumai women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
289 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
only within the most modest limits and surely could not have
been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been
used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little
at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the
lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around
themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up
toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the
little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and
turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where
they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO
291 The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
287 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
841 fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure
of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
287 tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.

See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/473 cont. /

291 like to say that for this or for some other reason they bind their waists with a piece of tree bark ten inches wide, and, to be sure, so tightly that the skin at stomach height and over the abdomen and hips forms a bulge, which tends to disfigure them; but to go back to the strange custom, I must add that from this belt two strands (filamentos) two to three inches wide hang down in front and back." According to Waehnelde, the women wear a piece of tapir skin, one and a half spans wide, tied around their waists; "coming out from it is a bast band half a span wide, which covers their genitals." Rohde writes: "The women likewise go naked, the sole article of clothing is a narrow strip of cactus bark which conceals only the smallest part of the sexual organs."

[287] With regard to our Bororo women, I have said on page 186
[341] that they wore on a hip cord a gray bast band three to four fingers wide, and during the menses a similar black one, that in place of the hip cord they also used a piece of hard bark over which the /474/ T-band extended down in front and up in back, both of which were additionally secured by a string or bast wrapping. Younger women seemed to prefer the "corset" to the hip cord; the abdomen was tightly encased in the rigid bark armor.

291 The gray bast came from the jangadeira tree (jangada = raft),
289 whose light wood is used for the construction of rafts; it is also
324 called embira branca and its botanical name (from the family of Tiliaceae) is Apeiba cymbalaria. The black bark-belt came from the jiquitiba or pot-tree, Lecythis, a beautiful ornament of the primeval forest with a huge crown. A thick piece of bark was hewed off medium-sized trunks and laid in water for a week. Then a very fine, soft bast could be peeled off on the inside, [386] which furnished the hygienic bands. It was dyed black in rotten mire (tyjuca of the Tupi). The coarser hard outer layers provided the material for the belts, which had a width up to 28 centimeters. Often even children three to four years old wore the belt and looked very droll in it.

291 From what we have seen, the bark belt might be regarded merely as a substitute for the hip cord, whose firm embrace was perhaps agreeable, as long as the fashion did not become